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Message Text

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AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

S E C R E T STATE 146500

NODIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT ISLAMABAD 5489 SENT ACTION SECSTATE JUN 05.
QUOTE S E C R E T ISLAMABAD 5489

NODIS

DEPT PLEASE REPEAT TO TEHRAN AND PARIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: MNUC, EAID, MASS, PEPR, PK, FR, US
SUBJECT: MANAGING THE REPROCESSING LETDOWN IN PAKISTAN

REF: A) STATE 138075, B) ISLAMABAD 4065, C) STATE 135585,
D) ISLAMABAD 5321

1. WITH THE FRENCH PLANNING IMMINENTLY TO NOTIFY THE
PAKISTANIS OF THEIR DECISION TO CANCEL THE REPROCESSING
PLANT CONTRACT, THE COMPLEX CHORE OF MANAGING THE PAKISTANI
REACTION IS IMMEDIATELY UPON US. IT SEEMS TO ME APPROPRIATE,
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THEREFORE, THAT WE QUICKLY REVIEW OUR SCENARIO FOR
DETERRING THE GOP FROM RASH, EMOTIONAL, AND COUNTER-
PRODUCTIVE REACTIONS.

2. I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT DE GUIRINGAUD IS ACCURATE WHEN
HE SAYS THE PAKISTANIS WILL "NEVER RENOUNCE" THE PLANT
FORMALLY AND THAT OUR BEST HOPE IS "TO PERSUADE THEM TO

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DELAY IT INDEFINITELY" (REF A). WITHIN THAT BROAD
SCENARIO, HOWEVER, THERE ARE TWO DISTINCT POSSIBLE
REACTIONS ON THE PART OF THE PAKS.

3. THE FIRST POSSIBILITY IS THAT THE PAKISTAN GOVERNMENT
WILL LET OFF A LOT OF STEAM ABOUT FOREIGN PRESSURES AND
INTERFERENCE FROM THE NUCLEAR 'HAVES,' BUT THAT IT WILL
STOP SHORT OF COMMITTING ITSELF UNILATERALLY TO FINISHING
THE REPROCESSING PLANT. THERE WILL BE ELEMENTS WITHIN
THE PAK GOVERNMENT WHICH WILL BREATHE A SILENT SIGH OF
RELIEF AT THE NEWS, AND OUR TACTIC SHOULD BE TO ENCOURAGE
THEM TO ASSERT THEMSELVES TO ENSURE THAT THE PAK REACTION
CONSISTS OF NO MORE THAN A STATEMENT OF ACUTE DISAPPOINT-
MENT, OF THE NEED FOR A REASSESSMENT OF ITS PROGRAM, AND
PERHAPS OF RENEWED COMMITMENT TO A NUCLEAR
FUTURE FOR PAKISTAN'S ENERGY REQUIREMENTS.

4. EVEN WITH SUCH AN OPTIMAL REACTION, WE MUST EXPECT
EMOTIONAL AND ANGRY WORDS TO BE CAST IN OUR DIRECTION;
WE WILL HAVE TO FORBEAR THEN, IN THE INTERESTS OF OUR
BROADER OBJECTIVES, JUST AS WE WILL HAVE TO AVOID ANY
TENDENCY TO COMMEND OURSELVES FOR THE SUCCESS OF OUR
POLICY. WE WOULD EXPECT, AMONG OTHER FULMINATIONS
(A) RESENTMENT THAT THE USG AND FRANCE HAVE USED PAKISTAN'S
NEEDS FOR SUPPORT AGAINST THE AFGHAN THREAT AS LEVERAGE
IN PRESSURING THE GOP AND (B) ASSERTIONS BY PRO-BHUTTO
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ELEMENTS THAT BHUTTO'S CHARGES AGAINST THE USG -- THAT
WE ENGINEERED HIS DOWNFALL IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE OUR GOAL
OF A WEAK AND LESS ASSERTIVE PAKISTAN -- ARE NOW PROVED
TRUE.

5. I FEAR THAT GOP CONCERN OVER AN ANTI-GOVERNMENT BACKLASH
WITHIN PAKISTAN WILL PROBABLY ARGUE FOR AN EVEN STRONGER
REACTION THAN THAT ABOVE. IN ORDER TO DEMONSTRATE THAT
THE GOP HAS NOT SOLD OUT TO FOREIGN PRESSURES THERE WILL
DOUBTLESS BE SOME FORM OF DECLARATION INTENDED TO PERSUADE
DOMESTIC POLITICAL ELEMENTS THAT PAKISTAN WILL NOT GIVE
UP ITS DREAM OF NUCLEAR INDEPENDENCE AND THAT, IF NECESSARY,
PAKISTAN IS PREPARED TO GO IT ALONE. WE WILL PROBABLY
FIND THEM RELUCTANT TO SOFTEN THIS COMMITMENT, EVEN IN
PRIVATE, LEST SUCH SOFTENING LEAK OUT AND BE USED BY
PRO-BHUTTO ELEMENTS TO SUGGEST DUPLICITY AND WEAKNESS
AND FOREIGN DOMINATION OF THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT. AND THESE
CONSIDERATIONS WILL IMPACT ON THEIR ABILITY TO DEAL WITH
THE "PACKAGE" WE HAVE TALKED ABOUT; THE GOP MUST AVOID
BEING SEEN BY ITS DOMESTIC CONSTITUENCY AS HAVING SOLD
OUT PAKISTAN'S NUCLEAR BIRTHRIGHT FOR AID LOANS, PL 480,
AND F5-E'S.

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6. I RECOGNIZE THAT IN PAINTING THIS SCENARIO, I AM SUGGESTING A SET OF CIRCUMSTANCE WHICH COULD SEVERELY COMPLICATE OUR ABILITY TO MOVE AHEAD WITH ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE AND THE PROVISION OF SELECTED MILITARY EQUIPMENT. I BELIEVE THE PROBLEMS ARE MANAGEABLE, HOWEVER, IF THEY ARE HANDLED ACCORDINGLY:

(A) AS EARLIER PROPOSED IN REF (B) AND REAFFIRMED BY THE SECRETARY IN REF (A), I SHOULD BE AUTHORIZED TO INFORM THE GOP -- PROMPTLY AFTER GOF DECISION HAS BEEN CONVEYED-- THAT OUR CONTINUING ABILITY TO BE OF ASSISTANCE IN THE DEVELOPMENT AND MILITARY EQUIPMENT FIELDS WILL REQUIRE THAT WE CONCLUDE -- TO OUR

SATISFACTION -- THAT PAKISTAN IS NOT TAKING STEPS TO COMPLETE THE REPROCESSING PLANT OR TO DEVELOP A NUCLEAR WEAPONS PROGRAM. ALTHOUGH WE WOULD NOT INSIST ON ANY ORAL OR WRITTEN UNDERTAKING ON THEIR PART ACCEPTING THIS CONDITION, WE WOULD IN FACT BE BASING OUR JUDGEMENTS ON THEIR ACTIONS IN THE NUCLEAR FIELD.

(B) WE SHOULD BE PREPARED IMMEDIATELY TO DISCUSS WITH THE GOP IN CONCRETE TERMS THE MODALITIES OF OUR VARIOUS TYPES OF ASSISTANCE AND TO PRODUCE QUICK COMMITMENTS AND AGREEMENTS IN ORDER TO ASSIST THE GOP IN HANDLING THE DOMESTIC REACTION.

(C) WITH THE CONGRESS, WE SHOULD ARGUE THAT AN INDEPENDENT CONVERGENCE OF VIEWS IN THE USG AND GOF HAS RESULTED IN THE CANCELLATION OF THE FRENCH CONTRACT, AND THUS THE AVOIDANCE OF THE CONDITIONS WHICH WOULD TRIGGER THE GLENN AMENDMENT. WE SHOULD MAKE IT CLEAR THAT WHILE THERE IS NO IRON-CLAD GUARANTEE THAT THE GOP WILL NOT ATTEMPT TO GO IT ALONE ON THE REPROCESSING PLANT -- IT WILL CERTAINLY NOT ABANDON THE IDEA FORMALLY -- AS A PRACTICAL MATTER, IT WILL BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT FOR THE GOP TO GO FORWARD WITHOUT SUBSTANTIAL FOREIGN ASSISTANCE. WE SHOULD TELL THE CONGRESS, MOREOVER, THAT WE WILL NOT CONTINUE ECONOMIC OR MILITARY ASSISTANCE/SALES IN THE FACE OF HARD EVIDENCE THAT THE PAKS ARE GOING AHEAD; HOWEVER, IT IS ONLY THROUGH CONTINUING OUR SUPPORT FOR PAKISTAN'S SECURITY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT THAT WE CAN KEEP OURSELVES POSITIONED MOST EFFECTIVELY TO PREVENT A HEADLONG GOP EFFORT TO DEVELOP A REPROCESSING/ PLUTONIUM CAPABILITY. WE SHOULD POINT OUT THAT CONTINUED EMBARGO OF MILITARY SALES AND ECONOMIC AID WILL BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE.

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7. THE MOST DIFFICULT ASPECT WILL BE IN DEALING WITH THE PUBLIC STANCES OF ALL THREE GOVERNMENTS. THE PROBLEM MIGHT BE EASED IF THE FRENCH MAKE NO PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT. IN FACT, THE PAKS MAY PLEAD WITH THE FRENCH TO THIS EFFECT WHEN THEY LEARN THE BAD NEWS. IF THE FRENCH ACCEDE, WE MAY BE ABLE TO HANDLE AN AID RESUMPTION AS QUIETLY AS WE DID THE DECISION TO DESIST FROM NEW COMMITMENTS LAST FALL -- THAT IS, WITH A LIMITED NUMBER OF SELECTED CONGRESSIONAL CONSULTATIONS AND NO ANNOUNCEMENT.

8. HOWEVER, SHOULD THERE BE A PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE FRENCH, FOLLOWED BY GOP PUBLIC ASSERTIONS OF ITS DETERMINATION TO MOVE AHEAD ALONE, WE WOULD SURELY BE FACED WITH PRESS QUERIES ON OUR RESUMPTION OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE. IN DEALING WITH THESE, WE WILL HAVE TO FALL BACK ON BEING TRUTHFUL BUT NOT FORTHCOMING, I.E., POINTING OUT THAT THERE HAS BEEN NO VIOLATION OF THE GLENN AMENDMENT; THAT IN CONDUCTING A REVIEW OF OUR OVERALL RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN WE HAVE DECIDED TO RESUME ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE; AND THAT WE HAVE NO REASON TO BELIEVE THAT PAKISTAN IS LIKELY TO DEVELOP A NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVE CAPABILITY. HUMMEL UNQUOTE VANCE

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